1: Jenness--159 (1913-16) 1922 Copper Eskimo
116, 583, 595

"Real 'marriage by capture' is not infrequent, though only, I believe, with women who are or have been already married. (1) A man would hardly dare to carry off a young girl against her own wishes and those of her parents. On the other hand he might with impunity carry off a widow who was only a burden to her kinsmen, and he might even deprive another man of his wife. Uloksak, who had two wives already, took a fancy to Hakungak, Kikpak's young wife. Kikpak was only a youth with no one to back him up and Hakungak was either not adverse to being transferred to so influential a man or afraid to offer any opposition. At all events Uloksak made her his third wife, leaving Kikpak with none. The change did not benefit the girl very much, for she became the drudge in her new household and lost her good looks before the year was out."

"1. The 'scrimmage for wives with deer-antlers', which the Baillie island natives told Mr. Stefansson was the custom among the Nagyuktogmiut (My Life with the Eskimo, p.159), is half-legendary."

1: Jenness--160 (1913-16) 1922 Copper Eskimo
116, 595

"The old shaman Ilatsiak told me of a bigamist Anengnak who was living with a band of other natives near Cape Krusenstern. He was tall and heavily built, and his teeth, like those of old Eskimo women, were worn right down to the gums. In the same settlement was another man named Norak who was not nearly as big as Anengnak. Norak, being unable to obtain a wife elsewhere laid hands on Anengnak's second wife one day and began to drag her away. Anengnak caught hold of her on the other side, and a tug of war ensued, but finally Norak, though the smaller of the two, succeeded in dragging her away to his hut and made her his wife. The Rev. Mr. Girling tells me that in the winter of 1917-18 an Eskimo in Coronation gulf tried to carry off another man's wife, and the woman was injured so severely that she died shortly afterwards. (1)"

"1. Two women from Kittigaryuit, the big settlement in the Mackenzie river delta, told me that similar contests were not infrequent among their people also in the days before the coming of the white men. Cf. for parallels from other, mainly Greenland, Eskimos, the authorities cited by Gilbertson, Journal of Religious Psychology, Vol. VII, p. 53 et seq."

1: Jenness--161
116, 595

(1913-16) 1922

Copper Eskimo

"Very few men have more than one wife each. Polygamy increases their responsibilities and the labour required of them; moreover it subjects them to a great deal of jealousy and ill-feeling, especially on the part of men who cannot find wives for themselves. The Eskimo polygamist, therefore, must be a man of great energy and skill in hunting, bold and unscrupulous, always ready to assert himself and to uphold his position by an appeal to force. Such a man was Uloksak. He had two wives when we first encountered him, but later he took a third wife from Kikpak. Uloksak was more intelligent than the average native; he was strong and capable and energetic, possessing all the prestige of a skilful hunter increased by his repute as a shaman to whom was ascribed the most extraordinary powers over the spirit world. There was a great deal of bluff in his character, but the bluff was successful as long as he had only his own people to deal with and did not come into opposition with any white men. His first wife well supported the dignity of her husband's position; she was a quiet kind-hearted woman of much sense and judgment, an excellent housewife, and a successful hunter of both seals and caribou. Uloksak much preferred her to both his other wives, but she had one failing --hitherto she had borne him no children. His second wife was reputed to be one of the best-looking girls in the country, but there her good qualities ended; she was bad-tempered and idle and merely a burden to her husband. He married her, he said, because she was good-looking, and he needed some

one to help in the summer's packing and in dressing the meat that he brought in to camp. Possibly he would have divorced her again had she proved childless, but she bore him a son, and a son is the delight of every Eskimo household. He kept both his wives, therefore, the good one and the bad, and took a third, Hakungak, who became the drudge of the family. It is not easy to say what the ultimate outcome will be, especially if Hakungak bears him a child also. Sooner or later he is sure to lose one or more of his wives. Some younger rival will forcibly take one from him, unless Uloksak has already forestalled the event and unburdened his household of some of its superfluous members. He was the only native we actually encountered who had more than one wife for any long period, though in several instances a native took a second wife into his house for a few days and sent her away again as soon as he grew tired of her."

1: Jenness--162
116, 595

(1913-16) 1922 Copper Eskimo

"In one case a woman had two husbands for about a fortnight. Her first husband was a quiet good-natured man with whom she had lived quite peacefully for many years. Moreover they had one child from their marriage, a boy of about eight years. What induced them to admit a second man into the privacy of their married life I do not know; it may be that the woman desired a change, and induced her husband to gratify her whim for a period; or, more likely, the husband was offered some valuable object as a bribe, and the wife was forced to submit. The result, as might have been expected, was not a happy one. The two men became jealous of one another and vented their spleen on the woman. One day the second husband gave her a beating. This brought matters to a head, and after a violent altercation he had to take his belongings away and find refuge in another house. He married a young divorcee soon afterwards and went away to another settlement.' This was the only instance of polyandry that ever came under our notice."

13: Jenness--89
116, 595, 837

(1914-1916) 1917

Copper Eskimo

"Family organization is, in its general features, very similar to our own. Interchange of wives, however, is common, polygamy frequent, and polyandry not unknown."

29: Jenness E-5 (1914-1916) 1959
ND8 Copper Eskimo ND8

In these and other ways they showed a greater familiarity with the customs of the white man than the natives of Dolphin and Union Strait. We found even more astounding evidences of contact with Europeans when we visited their snow-huts.

The village itself differed slightly from the usual type, the houses being arranged in line and separated by considerable intervals; normally they lie in a cluster, in order that no evil spirits may harm the inmates as they wander in the darkness from one hut to another. Johansen and I began our tour at one end, and dropped a trail of matches and needles along the line to show our appreciation of the scraps of blubber, meat, and fish with which each housewife paid us tribute. The last hut was also the largest. A dance-house framed the entrance, and half a dozen dogs, twice the usual number, squabbled in the passage, indicating that the occupant was a man of influence in his community. We brushed the dogs aside, and crawled on hands and knees through the low doorway at the inner end. Seated in state on his sleeping-platform was Knife, by repute the shrewdest Eskimo, and the most powerful medicine-man, in this section of the country; and on each side of him, supporting his dignity, sat a wife, the one chosen for her beauty, the other for her skill in hunting. He smiled a welcome as we entered, and, with a haughty gesture of his hand, motioned the younger woman to give us her seat.